1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play
593 she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
582 members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
855 laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958)-1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

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Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. [422] [231]

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No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

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Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitáns'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shamanism seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of